1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

439 The modern position is quite different. Each village still produces almost all its own food, but very considerable quantities of clothing, metal utensils, and tools are imported, in addition to salt, medicines, and ornaments. All the men and some of the women wear cloth. Every man possesses at least one loin-cloth, [651] a hoe, and an axe, and he must pay an annual tax of 12s. with an additional 2s. for every wife after the first. These essential expenses are met by the sale of produce and labour. Rungwe district is one of the main sources of food for the nearby Lupa gold-fields, while its native-grown coffee is sold on the London market. In 1936 produce to the value of some £24,000[1] was sold from Rungwe district to the outside world, and considerable quantities of produce were also sold within the district to Government officials, missionaries, traders, and their servants. At the same time an exchange of different types of produce, particularly of rice from the plains for ground-nuts from the hills, is developing, and markets flourish at several centres.

441 Trade is in the hands of Indians and Swahili settled in the Government station, Tukuyu, the military station, Masoko, and 443 the Lake-shore port, Mwaya. These traders employ Nyakyusa agents on a commission basis, to sell their goods and bring in produce; and there are many small shops scattered through the district, where commercially-minded Nyakyusa sell cloth, salt, paraffin, matches, hoes, knives, tin dishes, padlocks, soap, and cigarettes; and buy produce. But the shop is not a village centre. In the first place, one shop usually serves several villages; in the second, dependence on trade-goods is not yet so great that shopping close at hand is a necessary convenience, and when a purchase is to be made the buyer often prefers to go to one of the three main trading centres where his choice is greater. There was no sign of a Nyakyusa shop serving as a meeting-place for a village or a group of villages, as does the trading store of the Transkei.[2] Tukuyu market is indeed a social centre but it attracts custom from all over Rungwe district, not merely from one village or group of villages. Trading thus draws men outside their village; it does not nourish relationships within the village.

445 Employment for wages is the second means of meeting essential expenses, and we estimated that in 1936 approximately

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 16.
[2] Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 336.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

Life is never dull for the African. There are marriages and funerals here as elsewhere; the former always a joyous occasion, the latter not always or necessarily the reverse. A walk through a populous village will bring one upon net making, pot making, basket or cloth weaving, and one may hear the sharp tap-tap of the bark cloth worker, or, in an iron-working district, the clang of the blacksmith's stone hammer, beating out hoes or spears upon a rough stone anvil. And many drive dullness away with beer. Sometimes it is a small party. A few friends gather in a house, and sit around a pot or two of beer provided by the wife of the host. They drink to the strumming of a *pango* or the beating of a small drum, for they like to have music at their feasts, even when only a few are gathered. But if it is a village feast, given by the chief, it may go on all night with terrific noise, shouting, singing, and drumming; and not always does the feast end without fighting.

Sometimes the villagers receive visitors. The native evangelist on his rounds is always hospitably welcomed. The tax collector is not exactly welcomed—who ever welcomes a tax collector?—but he is received well enough, for his coming has at least this advantage, that those who are ready to pay the sum demanded will not have to go later and pay at the *boma* (magistrate's office), which may be a long distance away. Sometimes a native trader comes along, his packs carried by attendants, for he never carries them himself, even when beginning on a small scale. Visitors

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

enclosure surrounded his dwelling of many houses, where he lived with his wives and slaves, and, always present, some of his councillors. The arrival of visitors was announced by the young men who kept the gates; but only visitors of very high standing were actually admitted to the presence of the chief. If Chungu left the enclosure wearing his crown of black cloth with long streamers, the people hid themselves. When he went on a journey, the older people claimed the right of seeing him, and even saluting him as he passed; the younger were rigorously kept out of the way. When he crossed a river the men who carried him must not allow his feet to touch water, which he himself must never touch with his foot, for a flood would follow which would do much damage to the country.

To maintain his dignity, the chief received taxes in kind. His gardens were hoed, and his houses built, by the people. If an elephant was killed its tusks, and part of the flesh, were brought to him. Buffalo was royal game, and the whole carcase was his; his, too, were skins and tails of lion, leopard, and zebra; tusks of hippopotamus, horns of rhinoceros. Once in two years each chief brought him a young cow; and a portion of all spoils of war in prisoners, cattle, and other things, was his due.

Out of his abundance Chungu gave gifts to favourites or valued servants. He received and entertained distinguished visitors, though not all were admitted to his presence. They arrived with horns blowing and drums beating, the leader shouting,

5:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1938 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

the wealth derived from this trade enabled one of their chiefs, Kyungu, to maintain himself as paramount over all Ngonde. Among his people impersonal relationships thus had a greater importance. And it was, I believe, the historical isolation of the Nyakyusa from any considerable commercial contact with the outside world which prevented the rise among them of a paramount chief.

To-day the Nyakyusa are in process of integration with the civilized society of the world and the independence of their minute chiefdoms has inevitably passed away. The traditionally sovereign chiefs have been grouped in seven court districts with one chief as President of the Native Court in each ; and these seven chiefs together with the two Presidents of the Ndali and Lambya Courts are federated, with an Appeal Court and joint Native Treasury of their own. In the seven Native Courts most of the traditionally sovereign chiefs are entitled to sit with their great-commoners, and assist the President and his great-commoners in the hearing of cases. The bulk of the legal business previously transacted by each chief in his own country is now taken to Court, but the power of great-commoners to settle disputes by arbitration in their separate villages is still the basis of the legal system.

A poll tax, now (1938) fixed at 9/- per annum for adult males with no additional tax for plural wives, has been introduced and chiefs are paid small salaries ranging from 5/-, 10/- or 20/- a month for ordinary chiefs to 80/- or 100/- a month for the Court Presidents.

The Nyakyusa, as we have previously mentioned, consist of a number of immigrant groups who have spread among and incorporated an indigenous population. The main immigrant groups were three in number and are distinguished to-day by the names of " Nyakyusa," " Kukwe " and " Selya." As all these three groups together (including those who are now incorporated in them) call themselves " Nyakyusa " to the outside world, I distinguisb the one group to which the name more particularly belongs as the " Nyakyusa proper." The Nyakyusa proper live in the plain of Mungonde and up on the higher ground as far north as Tukuyu, the Kukwe live north of them around the base of Rungwe Mountain while the Selya live in the east of the district, between the Nyakyusa proper and the Kukwe, right under the wall of the Livingstone Mountains. Between the three groups there are minor differences of dialect and custom.

The extent to which the indigenous groups retain any separate identity varies in accordance with the number of the immigrants and the date at which they reached them, but over a large part of the district fusion has been complete.

We have already discussed the economic relations between the Nyakyusa and the Lupa gold fields which provides them with a market

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

643 652 subjects. The great bulk of this income was employed for public purposes, but no exact line can be drawn between his public and his personal expenditure[1].

643 651 224 "The right tusk of an elephant was called the royal, the left the common tusk. All royal tusks were the Kyungu's but common tusks belonged to the hunter who killed the elephant. Whenever a hunter here in the Ngonde plain killed an elephant he would take the royal tusk to his own chief (or noble) who would then tell him to bear it to the lord of the country, and so he would take it to the Kyungu. But in the distant hills the local ruler[2] would keep the royal tusks and so cheat the Kyungu. He might come to visit him from time to time, bringing two or three tusks only; and in that case the Kyungu would not claim the others from him. If, however, the Kyungu had heard that many elephants had been killed in so and so's country, and if no subsequent visit had been made to him, he would get angry and send a messenger, and then the territorial noble would come in haste to visit him. But very many tusks they stole and never brought." Whether the commoner from the plain who brought the ivory to Mbande received a gift from the Kyungu in return we do not know; he was not conducted into the sacred enclosure, and he left the tusk with the nobles of Ngonde. But the distant territorial nobles who brought ivory were royally entertained, and even entered the presence of the Kyungu.

Now the sanction for bringing to Mbande the royal tusks of the plain was a moral one, arising from religious faith. It was believed that any huntsman in the plain who had killed an elephant and kept both tusks, instead of taking the right to his own chief or noble and thence on to Mbande, would never kill another; for the spirits of the dead Kyungus would be angry and frustrate his best efforts. It was believed that this would be so even though the living authorities at Mbande had been successfully hoodwinked; it was impossible to hoodwink the dead.

But in the distant hills the sanction was entirely different. The Kyungu and his ancestors were only local divinities, they were only believed to control the fate of the plain. In the hills what was feared was military force. If Nthalile or Mwenewenya refused to obey a summons to Mbande then the Kyungu would order his sons, the chiefs, to go and "burn him out" for insolence[3]. The sanction of force, however, was not the only reason for their acquiescence; it was profit-

[1] No such line can be drawn in England either. We distinguish the King's Civil List from the rest of the budget, but then the state which His Majesty keeps has a public significance.
[2] i.e. the territorial noble.
[3] *Vide infra* section 5 (a).

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

able also for distant nobles to bring ivory to Mbande, since they were given in return valuable gifts of cloth which they could not easily get elsewhere. And besides this it is said that "they desired the Kyungu's favour and to have their importance recognised by him."

Of the tusks which were retained by the hunters in the plain a good many were bought up afterwards by the Kyungu or by the chiefs in return for cloths or cattle or slaves.

Food was brought both by the chiefs and the territorial nobles of the plain, either on their own initiative or in answer to a royal command; and sometimes the less distant nobles of the hills brought food also. Mwenemisuku, for example, was called upon for the beans for which his country is still famous to-day. But, as the following quotation shows, not all the food brought reached the personal possession of the Kyungu.

"In the old days the nobles of Ngonde had most cunning ways, they would send a message to some territorial noble by the lake to say that the Kyungu desired fish and he must bring him some. Whereupon the noble would bring maybe ten or twenty baskets of fish. He would bring it to the nobles of Ngonde, who would then go and inform the Kyungu that so and so had come bringing fish. And the Kyungu would bid them thank him and tell them to give him a hoe. They would do so and the visiting noble would go home. And then the nobles of Ngonde would bring two baskets of fish in to the Kyungu, dividing the remainder among themselves.

"So likewise they would send to Mwenemisuku for beans and to other nobles for maize or millet; and always they would tell Kyungu of these nobles' arrival; but he would never see what they had brought with them! Sometimes the Kyungu might tell them to send one away without any gift, to another he might give something, just as the fancy took him. But always the nobles of Ngonde would keep the bulk of what had been brought for themselves and bring a little of it only into Kyungu's house. When sending thus for food they sent the *valukuta* who were their messengers."

And the lesser authorities likewise, great chiefs, local chiefs and territorial nobles, took a certain tribute from their own subjects; they could not take the royal tusks, but they could and did take food. Every ruler in Ngonde (and also among the Nyakyusa) had the power of sending at need to any of his subjects and taking some food—bananas, milk, beer and so on. This power was correlated with the view that the local rulers, in relation to their people, were the ultimate owners of the land which their people used. And so also in the relation of the Kyungu with the local rulers, the view that he had given (or allowed them to retain) their land was correlated with the tribute of food.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

643 The gardens of the Kyungu were divided traditionally into public
652 (*imilasa*) and private ones (*imigunda gya masano*). The produce of the first was mainly devoted to the entertainment of important guests—chiefs, territorial nobles and the ivory traders from over the lake. That of the second to the personal needs of the Kyungu and his household.
643 The public gardens were hoed and weeded by the great chiefs and the
651 nobles of the Ngonde plain with their subordinates and followers, the private ones by the nobles of Ngonde with theirs.

The hoeing of his public gardens by the chiefs and nobles of the plain was as intimately connected with the religious status of the Kyungu as was the bringing of royal tusks to him, for the belief in his rain-making powers provided a moral sanction for it. Drought and disease, as we have seen, were often attributed to the displeasure of the living Kyungu; and the failure of some ruler to bring his people to work the public gardens was, so we were told, the most usual way of displeasing him. The wealth and the divinity of the Kyungu were inextricably linked. Nor without these public gardens could the lucrative ivory trade have been maintained. In the primitive world of Ngonde there were no "purely business relations;" tributaries and buyers alike had to be royally feasted.

643 In the hoeing of the public gardens the political hierarchy of
651 Ngonde was made evident, for each great chief came separately to hoe,
565 accompanied both by the local chiefs of his own house and by those
622 territorial nobles who lived near him. At an appropriate time either the great chief or one of his noble neighbours would suggest going to Mbande to hoe, and the former would then summon all his local chiefs. But he could not summon the nobles; with them it was a polite arrangement between equals. "When they went to hoe for the Kyungu it might be a neighbouring noble and not the great chief at all who made the first suggestion; and then the two of them would go together with their followers. For the nobles are not subjects of the great chiefs but only of the Kyungu."

651 The main crop grown in the public gardens was millet (*amalesi*) for
241 beer. And at some time during the year all the chiefs and nobles[1] who
476 had brought men to hoe[2] them were summoned to taste "the beer of the *mulasa*." So we see that, in one aspect, the hoeing of the public
273 gardens of the Kyungu was but an extension on a large scale of the

[1] It is clear from our notes that each chief and noble brought to this beer-drink some of his people; but it is not clear whether he brought all those who had worked or only the more important among them.

[2] I speak of "hoeing" and "men." It is fairly certain that the women also came to weed afterwards and that they participated in the beer. We omitted, however, to find this out.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

ordinary custom of hoeing parties which is still followed by every chief and commoner in this whole area. Every man, two or three times a year, invites his neighbours to hoe for him and rewards them with a beer-drink in the evening. Where the hoeing of the Kyungu's public gardens differed from this custom was in the religious sanction behind it and in its political organization.

After the local chiefs had finished the *mulasa* for the Kyungu they would next return and hoe a small garden for their great chief who had led them to Mbande. But in this the territorial nobles took no part. Such gardens were not called *milasa* and there was no distinction made between them and the great chief's private ones. For this custom also there was a moral sanction; for the great chiefs, we remember, also participated in divinity. "If his people forgot to hoe for Mwakasungula then perhaps a little local epidemic of some kind would break out and the diviners, when questioned, would attribute it to their forgetfulness. Or perhaps a prophetic fit would fall on some one and he would tell them to go and hoe (or they would rue it!)"

And, still lower in the hierarchy, among a group of chiefs who were half-brothers, the senior chief used sometimes to summon his juniors to bring their men and hoe; but "their acquiescence depended on their friendship for him"; it seems to have had no effective moral sanction.

The private gardens of the Kyungu were traditionally very small indeed, for the constant income of food from the plain made them all but unnecessary. Such as they were, they were worked by the people of Mbande, i.e. the nobles of Ngonde and their followers. The wives of the Kyungu lived like ladies and had all the normal work of a woman, including weeding, done for them.

The income of the Kyungu in slaves and cattle cannot be understood save in the context of judicial procedure and warfare with which we have not yet dealt[1].

The income of Mbande reached others besides the Kyungu and his wives. We have already seen how the nobles of Ngonde took their share of the food which was brought in; and some of it they gave to their messengers, the *valukuta*. Neither the nobles of Ngonde nor the messengers, according to the present Kyungu, used to have any large gardens of their own; they also were maintained at the public expense. And the nobles of Ngonde shared also in the proceeds of the ivory.

With the exception of a pile of tusks upon which the Kyungu slept, most of the ivory which reached Mbande, from the time of Mwangonde

[1] *Vide infra* sections 5 and 6.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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anger which brought the drought then it will rain (for I am no longer angry). But if the rain does not come then it cannot have been my anger, it must have been someone [of the dead Kyungus] whom you forgot to ask about.' 'And if, after that, the rain came soon, then it was not likely that anyone would insult the Kyungu again.' If, however, it did not rain, then the nobles of Ngonde would approach the Kyungu once more and ask why it had not rained. He would say that he did not know, that he himself was certainly not angry, and they must have forgotten someone, they had better go and divine again. And so they would, and then the diviner would tell them that it was so-and-so (one of the dead Kyungus) and they would go and sacrifice in his grove.

Thus to insult Kyungu was not only treasonable, it was blasphemous, and the whole plain was believed to be cursed with drought or disease in reply. An 'insult' might mean any neglect of the obligations of the chiefs and nobles and commoners of the plain to their lord.

The people of Ngonde hoed large fields as tribute to the Kyungu and if they failed to do so 'he grew angry and poured all the water out of the pot in which he kept his rain stones' (*vide infra*, p. 114) and 'the sky dried up'. Then the chiefs called their men to hoe. . . . 'They hoed and hoed and hoed and their wives planted, then the rain came in a torrent. . . . Kyungu created much rain.'

Or if an elephant hunter neglected to send the Kyungu one of the tusks of any elephant he killed he would not kill another. 'The country beneath was angry . . . the shades of the dead Kyungus . . . they were angry saying: "Why do you stint our child?" '

The rainfall in the Ngonde plain is less than half what it is in the Nyakyusa valley and anxiety about rainfall was constantly shown in the communal rituals; elephant hunting was also a matter of concern in a way in which it was not among the Nyakyusa and this too is reflected in rituals; but there was also the preoccupation with health and fertility, as in the prayers at Lubaga. In the groves circling Mbande the nobles prayed: 'May the sterile bear children, may the cattle and fowls increase, may the children sleep and not cry at night, may the witches not injure anyone.' And as we shall see, it was health and fertility that men had in mind when they cleared out the ashes each year after the break of the rains.

Towards Christmas time, when the first maize and the first

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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NOTE

621 631 561 [103] [796] It should be realized that (i) the names of the two senior villages of a generation are well known and clear cut, but those of subordinate villages are more fluid. Furthermore a village often has subdivisions, distinguished by its members by name, but known to outsiders only by the general village name. (ii) A village may acquire a new name at the 'coming out'; the senior village of Mwanyilu's generation used to be called 'Mpuguso' but 'came out' as 'Lupando'. (iii) Some villages die out altogether, e.g. Kyemo II. (iv) Some villages straddle generations. Katela in 1955 is in the same sort of position as Katumba in 1935. It includes eight sons of Mpunga who belong to generation III, but also fourteen sons of men of Masoko who 'came out' with Mwanyilu. In the case of Katumba the members who were sons of men of generation III moved to younger villages and 'came out' with Mwanyilu, among them being his senior headman Kilasile, a man of over forty. But Kilasile's contemporaries who were sons of men of generation II could not 'come out' with Mwanyilu, at least not as a group—and the members of Katumba attended the 'coming out' as 'fathers'. Boys join a village of contemporaries but may move later to a village of younger men who are of their own structural generation.

At the 'coming out' of Mwanyilu and Mwabungulu five village headmen were 'caught' and secluded with their chiefs. They represented five clear-cut villages. Kilasile and Sikambombo, Mwanyilu's two senior headmen who made fire are leaders of Lupando and Iringa respectively; Pauliki and Batungulu their juniors are leaders of [622] Bujisi (or Ipoma) and Mfumbi (or Isuba), and Mwanjotile the single headman of the junior heir, Mwabungulu, has his own village of Nkuyu established on newly settled land in the forest. The young men of Kibonde were included under Kilasile's authority, and those of Kituli and Kabula under Sikambombo's. The names Lupando and Iringa are well known as those of sections of Mwanyilu's chiefdom, but the names Bujisi and Mfumbi are not: the young men of these villages still use the names of their fathers' villages, Ipoma and Isuba, though there is a clear territorial separation between fathers and sons. Taxes [651] are collected under the names of Igembe, Ipoma, Kibonde, Njisi, Isuba, Kituli, and the three forest villages, Kilosi, Kiloba, and Nkuyu.

[p. 101 is blank]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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for the local investment of savings are the most important economic undertaking in the District. The seven coffee co-operatives handled a crop of 950 tons in 1955, worth about £427,500, and are organized so efficiently as to be able to return over 90 per cent of the price of the coffee on Moshi market to the producer, after the heavy transport costs (14 per cent) have been paid. One Government-paid officer assists these societies.

In the educational and recreational field also, associations are emerging: football clubs; companies of Scouts and Guides; 'Welfare Centres' with classes in reading for adult illiterates, indoor games, and Saturday-night dances; Women's Clubs for handwork and recreation; and in Tukuyu itself an inter-racial club with its own premises, whose members meet to play games, and get to know one another and discuss common problems. These associations make a visible mark on the face of the country in the shape of new brick Churches, co-operative stores, football fields, and, more rarely, a village club-house.

The change from a subsistence to a money economy, and from a system of government through chiefs and village headmen who were dependent primarily on inherited wealth, which secured to them the labour of many able-bodied wives and sons, to a system of government through European officials, chiefs, and clerks paid out of taxes, and assisted by unpaid village headmen, implies the collection and administration of taxes. The District Council has the responsibility for the budgeting and expenditure of over £60,000 per annum. The greater part of it is spent on the salaries of chiefs, secretaries, and clerks engaged in administration, on courts, on schools, dispensaries, and roads. The development of associations with paid officers also implies the collection of dues and budgeting. As in so many countries the difficulty of building up a tradition of honesty in administration is great. Tax clerks, court clerks, council secretaries, and co-operative society secretaries, and even church elders handle sums of money relatively large in proportion to their earnings and one of the tasks of European officials and missionaries is to secure a sound system of accounting and check corruption. In the traditional society stock theft was a capital offence, but money has not the sanctity of cattle, and often the clerk who has appropriated public funds is treated by others as 'unfortunate' rather than immoral. At the same time villagers show great anxiety lest a man entrusted with some common fund should spend it for himself. The risk of theft

241 Other foodstuffs grown are coca-yams, cow peas, pigeon peas, Bambarra groundnuts, ginger, cardamon, groundnuts, wheat, pumpkins, peppers, citrus, sugar cane and European [177] vegetables, including a quantity of European potatoes.

Economic Crops

245 One of the main cash crops is coffee, which was introduced about 1900 by the Berlin 177 Lutheran Mission, but it was not grown by natives until 1930 when an attempt was made to organize an industry. It had already been tried from 1924 onwards by Europeans but had gradually died out, giving place to tea.

245 Native coffee has not been truly successful and many reasons are suspected for this. In effect, the coffee suffers from many pests and diseases and yields are so low as to be almost uneconomical even to a tribe of very low individual annual income. It has become obvious that coffee can only be grown by natives if shaded by bananas and mulched heavily with banana trash. Multiple-stem pruning is gaining favour.

Seedlings are planted out in December and the first crop is obtained four years after. The area planted rose in 1939 to 5,864 acres and the number of native planters to 7,966. Yields, however, are low, varying from 131.4 kg. to 20.4 kg. parchment to the acre. Hemeleia [136] leaf disease and yellow and white borer are prevalent all over the coffee-growing area. Over the period since 1932 the price paid to natives has averaged 44 cents a kg. for parchment.

[438] All coffee is collected and sold by Native Authority after rough grading and, in order to [432] encourage better preparation, much lower payments are made for the inferior grades. A native staff is employed to visit coffee plots and to give instructions, and it is noticeable that the quality of preparation varies with the price.

175 The cultivation of rice on the lake shore was started by Chief Koroso in 1896 with seed 243 obtained from Arab traders in Nyasaland and the Moravian Mission issued further seed in 1898. Being an innovation, rice was not popular and little was grown except for small [651] local sales. In 1917 the Government issued seed and tax was paid in rice instead of money. Interest was hereby aroused and the cultivation of rice was started. In 1932 several other kinds of seed were issued and now sixteen varieties 243 are found. "Faya", which was issued in 1929, gives the best yields and is the variety chiefly grown, other varieties being Bungala, Marula

243 and Mapiko, although very little of these is sold. Ploughs have been introduced into the area as it is flat and the total number in use in 1942 is about 400. The first ploughing is carried out in June or July when the ground is still wet, and the second ploughing in October to February. Planting, which is all broadcast, is carried out in November to the middle of March and the harvesting is done in May to September.

256 A first mill was erected at Ipyana on the lake shore in 1942 with a capacity of 9 tons of rice in 15 hours. Another is now on its way from India with a capacity of 14 tons of rice in 15 hours and should be erected some time in 1944.

248 A small acreage of cotton is also sown along the Songwe River boundary, which borders on Nyasaland, with seed obtained from that Colony. Conditions, however, are not suitable on the remainder of the lake shore and expansion is not encouraged.

241 439 A list of exports from the district with approximate weights for 1942 is appended:—

Article	Weight in tons
	Tons
Mixed beans	550
Coffee	50
Groundnuts	50
Maize	1,500
Onions	20
European potatoes	200
Rice	1,500
Vegetables	40
Fruit	100
Banana flour	300
Cassava flour	50
Finger millet	150
Tea (European produce)	215
Total ..	4,725

Land Tenure and Economics of the People

423 In theory all land belongs to the chiefs or sub-chiefs, but in practice once a man has cultivated a plot, that plot belongs to him until he leaves the area in which he lives. If he leaves, the land reverts to the chief or sub-chief and may be given by him through his headman or elder to anyone in his area who is short of land or to a newcomer who wants a plot. Should a man go away and return after a long period and ask for a plot, he is bound to be given one but not necessarily the plot he had before he left. Newcomers are welcomed and are given land, as the amount of tax collected in an area is an indication of the importance of a chief.

554 609 651

233 Stock grazing is a problem which is coming more and more to the fore. The number of